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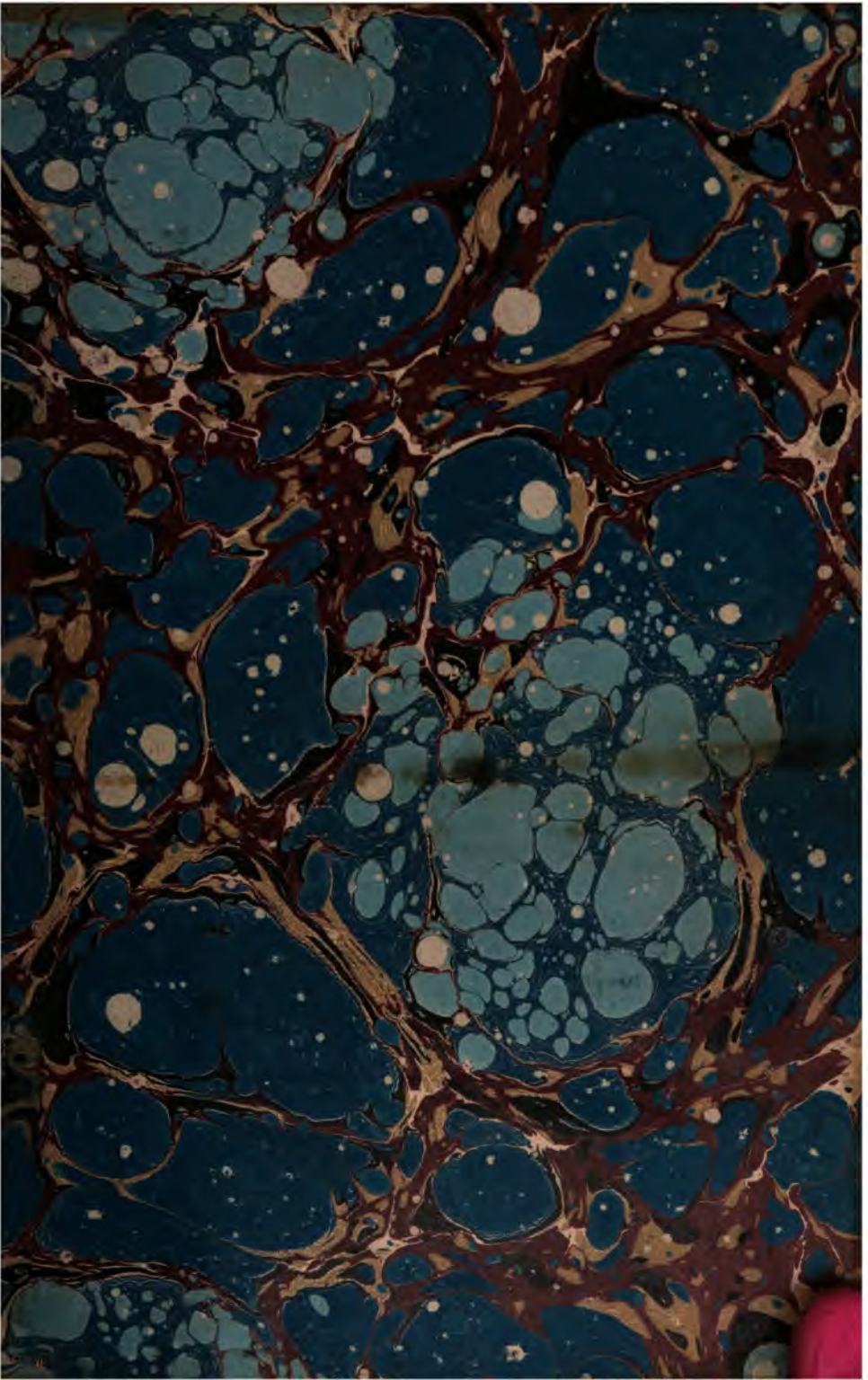
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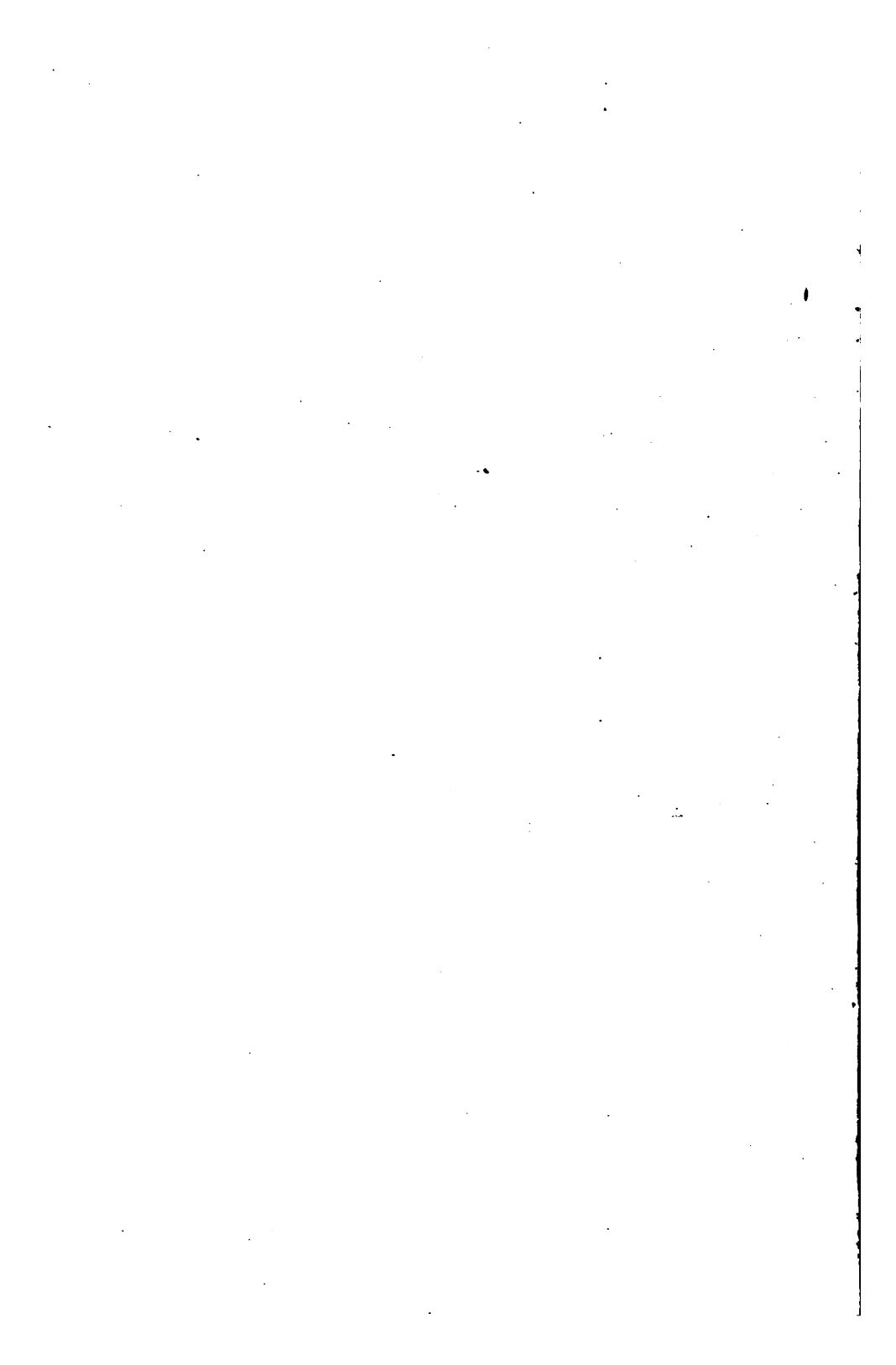
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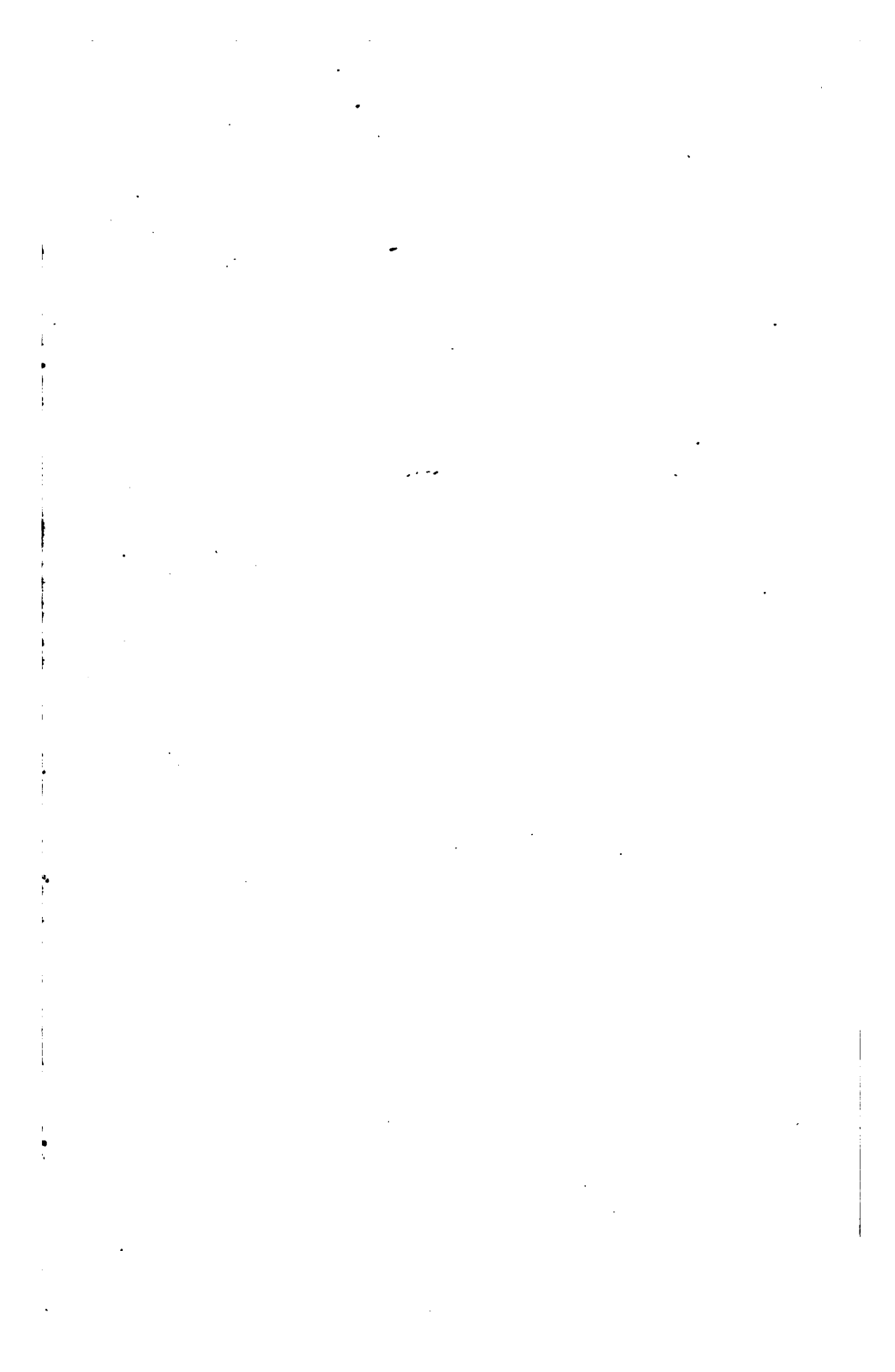
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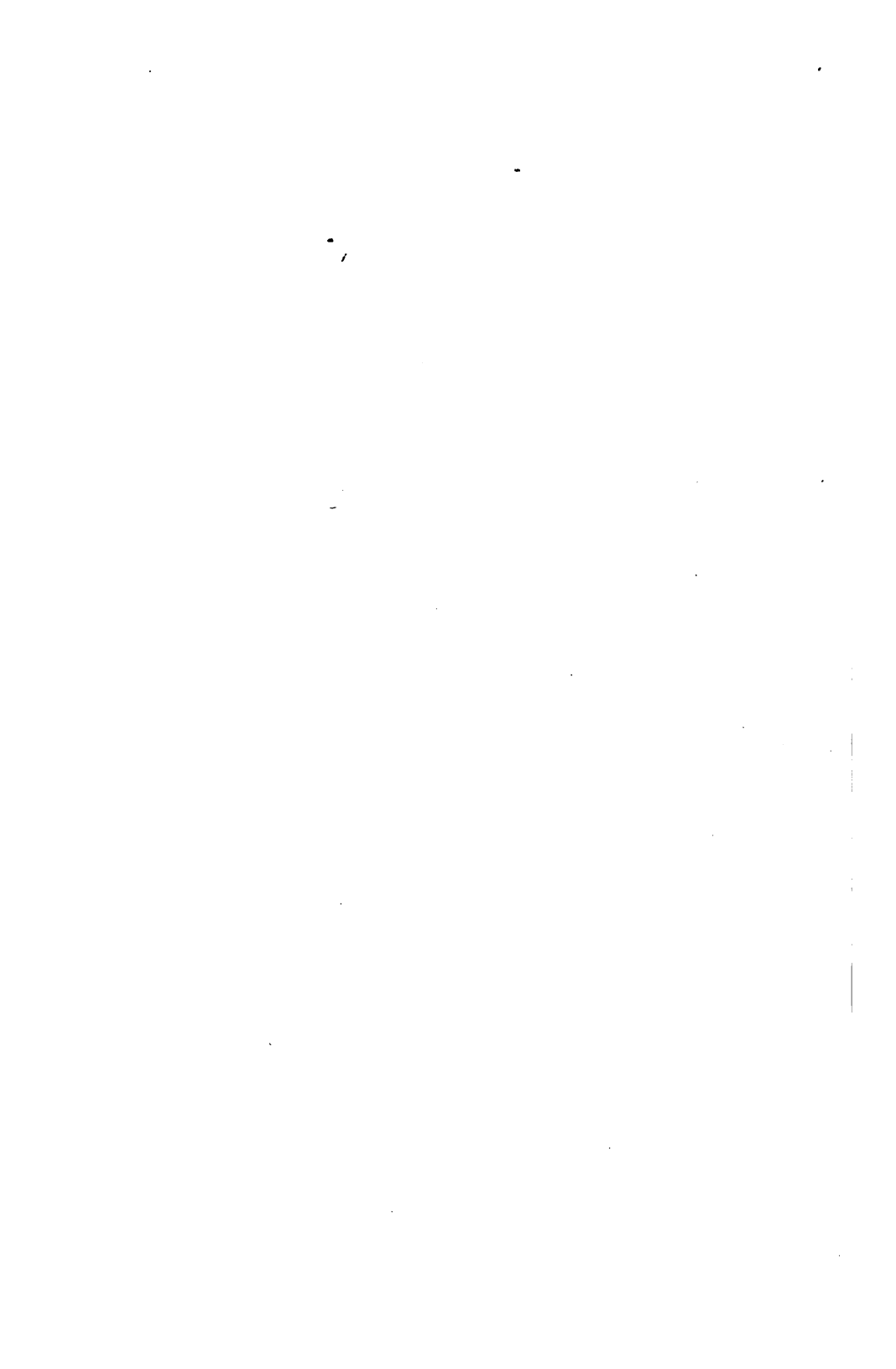
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NOTES ON DOMESDAY

BY THE

Robert Williams
REV. R. W. EYTON, M.A.

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NOTES ON DOMESDAY.

ENGLAND has now, for nearly eight centuries, been possessed of a Territorial Record, such as no later age nor other country has conceived, accomplished, and preserved. A notice of Domesday generally, familiarising by some newer lights that august monument, may well be among the first contributions to a County Journal of Archæology.

Domesday is not merely venerable from its own great antiquity and structural grandeur, but, as preserving fragments of records much older than itself, it adds both facts and tests to the historic matter of a still remoter age.

The business of the King's "Legati," as the Domesday Commissioners somewhere styled themselves, has been represented as one of extraordinary difficulty, in that they had to deal with the remotest corners of a kingdom newly conquered and imperfectly settled. This view is hardly full enough. Where such difficulties were paramount, as was the case with Northumberland, Durham, and most part of Westmoreland, no survey was attempted: where such difficulties were not quite so great, as was the case with part of Westmoreland, with North Yorkshire, with Lancashire, and with Monmouthshire, the survey was proportionably incomplete. As to Cumberland, it was omitted of course, not because it was unsettled, but because it was not as yet conquered, nor attempted to be conquered, by the Normans. As to Welsh Territory, on the other hand, so far as it had been annexed to adjacent English Counties, such annexations were duly noted by the Domesday Commissioners.

And the then recent conquest of England was in fact rather a correlative than a hindrance of the projected survey; for the survey was not merely the conception of a great genius, nor the exercise of an impetuous will, but it implied a competence of actual power seldom attained by Despots, save at the noontide of a daring and successful career. No such work has been possible to any later Monarch than William I.; for none but he has had the combined faculties and opportunities adequate to the enterprise; none has had such superiority over the greater vassals of the Crown; none, perhaps, has had such a choice of Ministerial instruments. To illustrate these remarks, we would point out that Domesday surveys three Counties which, to all appearance, involved a Palatine jurisdiction. These Counties were Cheshire, Shropshire, and Cornwall. William's Commissioners dealt with these Counties as with others. Yet, so long as they remained Palatinate, not one of these Counties will have been approachable by any Royal Commission, acting under Patent, as was the case with the Domesday Legati.

In addition to the great inquisitorial powers with which the Domesday Commissioners were backed, we should here note another facility which attended them. They seem to have had at their command Territorial Records, more or less full and exact, of several periods of the Confessor's reign, if not of still earlier date. We may judge how far the Commissioners may have been aided in their task by a plurality of such antecedent Records, if we examine the only relic of this kind which has, in its original form, been preserved to us. This priceless document is a Danegeld-assessment-roll of the South-Western Counties. The true and authentic title of this Record is "Inquisicio Gheldi." Because the place of its custody has happened for centuries to have been the same with that of the Exon Domesday, and because the older Record Commission caused it to be printed and bound up with the Exon Domesday, this Inquest is usually spoken of and quoted as part of the

Exon Domesday. Nothing can be more erroneous, nothing more suggestive of further error. The Inquest is two years older than any Domesday.

A minute examination of this Inquest suggests that it was used, though not implicitly followed, by the Domesday Commission which afterwards visited the five Counties in question. Its date and nature, therefore, demand our immediate attention.

Between the Conquest and the date of Domesday, William levied the tax, called Danegeld, more than once. He levied it as a War-tax. One of the chroniclers says, that *after Christmas*, 1083, King William levied a tax of 6 shillings on every hide of land. This was the Gheld in question, and the Roll which we have remaining is the collectors' account of this levy in the South-Western Counties.

The Roll itself contains some internal evidence of the date and rate above assigned. It was levied after the death of Queen Matilda (this event took place Nov. 3, 1083). It was levied before Domesday, which marks a few intermediate changes of tenure (Domesday was completed before Easter, April 5, 1086). Its last arrears were paid up after the Easter of some year when Easter and Lady-Day nearly coincided. Such a year was 1084, when Easter fell on March 31; such a year was not 1085, when Easter fell on April 20.

The date of the Inquisicio Gheldi was therefore the first three months of 1084, and it was assessed, as every page thereof proves, at the extraordinarily high rate of 6 shillings per hide.

Such, then, was one of those documents which at the date of Domesday may be presumed to have existed in plurality, and for every settled County in the kingdom, and which the Domesday Commissioners had doubtless in every circuit at their service.

A comparison between three or four English Counties in the matter of statistical phenomena will here be opportune, though we do not at present attempt to account for the variations.

To begin with Dorset—its Hundreds, thirty-nine in number, are all paraded and scrutinized in the Record of 1084. They exhaust the whole geldable area of the County. The Domesday of Dorset makes incidental mention of only two Hundreds, and to one of those it gives a name different from the name which had been adopted in the previous Inquisition, though the district indicated is clearly identical in both Records. The *Præ-Domesday* Hundreds of Dorset are represented, many of them in name and area, and all of them in essence, by the divisions of the present day. The Dorset Domesday adopts a local nomenclature derived largely from streams and rivers. No less than thirty-five different estates are registered, for instance, under the single name of Winterburne; yet from other indicia of the Record, and from later evidence, the site of each of these scattered Winterburnes may proximately be determined. Again, the Dorsetshire of the nineteenth century is found to be precisely conterminous with the Dorsetshire of 1084 and 1086.

Much the same may be said of Wiltshire. Its Inquest of 1084 is also preserved. Its Hundreds, all enumerated in the Inquest, are none of them named in Domesday. We are assured, on better authority than our own,¹ that its external boundaries have remained unchanged during the eight centuries already indicated.

Of a third county, Lincolnshire, more will be said anon; but here merely that its Inquest of 1084 has not been preserved; that its Domesday divisions are very insufficiently marked by the Record, but may be determined by industrious research; that they are very closely represented by the divisions of the present day, and that as a whole, and with the exception of incalculable changes of foreshore, the boundaries of the County are what they were at the date of Domesday.

Lastly, with regard to Shropshire, its Domesday has no Inquest nor other adventitious illustration of the text;

¹ "Gleanings from the Wiltshire Domesday," by the Rev. W. H. Jones, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

but its Domesday is better executed, and is more sufficient of itself, than the Domesday of any of the three counties above-mentioned. The clerks who executed the Shropshire Domesday rubricated the appropriate Hundreds with scrupulous care, the results of which we shall advert to presently. But, on the other hand, the area of Shropshire came to be largely altered in the time of King Henry I.; the very names of Hundreds and their Domesday contents were, with one exception (that of Condovery), metamorphosised and re-distributed. There have been further and later changes—changes of less importance to the Archæologist, because more easily traced and accounted for.

To return to Dorset—the tendency of the Domesday Commission which visited that County was somewhat to increase the geldable area recorded in the Inquest of 1084; but, in assessments of the Danegeld subsequent to Domesday, we find that the assessors rather relied on the compacter Records of an earlier date than troubled themselves with any analysis or synopsis of Domesday lights. This will appear by the following statistics:—

The Dorset Inquest of 1084 records a hidage, that is, a geldable area, of $2296\frac{7}{8}$ hides for the whole 39 Hundreds which went to compose the County. The details of this report, when examined, suggest a small margin of clerical or arithmetical error, which, if allowed for, would give $2301\frac{1}{2}$ hides as the geldable area in question. The Domesday Commissioners for Dorset, their work being analysed, are presumed to have omitted one or two large manors from their Survey; but still they found the area of geldable estates, which did not escape survey, to be $2313\frac{3}{4}$ hides. But for the oversight their view would probably have amounted to this, that the report of 1084 was deficient in details to the extent not merely of 17 hides, but of upwards of 30 hides.

For the year 1130, forty-four years after Domesday, we have record of another assessment of the Danegeld in Dorset. In this instance the Sheriff accounted of the geldable area of the County as of $2282\frac{1}{2}$ hides—an

astonishing proximity to, and yet a declination from, the estimate of 1084. The assessment in this case was at the rate of 2 shillings per hide.

Twenty-six years later, the interval embracing 15 years of fiscal disorganization and civil anarchy, the Danegeld was again assessed on Dorsetshire. In the second year of Henry Fitz Empress, the year 1156, the geldable area was exactly as it had been in 1130, viz., 2282½ hides, and the assessment was again at the rate of 2 shillings per hide.

A word now as to the accuracy or inaccuracy which may be imputed to the fiscal officers and Domesday Surveyors of William the Conqueror, when we test their estimates of the areal contents of Counties by the more scientific ascertainments of the present century.

Unfortunately, Shropshire cannot conveniently, nor without undue prolixity, be brought under this comparison; for its boundaries are by no means the same with those contemplated by the Domesday Committee, nor yet with those which obtained in the time of the second Henry.

Of Dorsetshire we may speak with confidence and precision. We must add something, gathered solely from Domesday, to the Inquisitional hidage of 1084, before we can say what was the then estimate of the whole contents of a county: in other words, we must add to geldable area that which was non-geldable by immemorial prescription. In Dorset there were 45 hides of estate annexed to Boroughs, and Extra-hundredal, which were not touched or approached by the Inquest of 1084. There was also the Carucatage of non-hidated and non-geldable lands belonging to the Crown, as *Vetus Dominium*, to the Bishop of Sarum, and to the Abbot of Glastonbury. We may estimate this carucatage, where not expressly measured by *Carucatæ*, according to the number of Teams (*carucæ*) employed. By this method we get in Dorset a Total of privileged estate to the extent of 264½ carucates; and a carucate, being in fact an unassessable hide, was,

as a thing of conventional understanding, nearly co-extensive with a Hide. The total area of Dorset, at the date of 1084-6, may be formulated, then, as follows : $2296\frac{3}{4}$ hides + 45 hides + $264\frac{1}{2}$ carucates = $2606\frac{1}{4}$ hides. The total area of Dorset at the present day is computed to be 627,265 statute acres. This gives $240\frac{2}{3}$ acres as the Dorset proportion for the Domesday Hide.

A word now of comparison between Dorset and the distant and very dissimilar County of Lincoln. For Lincolnshire the Inquest of 1084 is not preserved. Domesday, in its Survey of Lincolnshire, estimates extent and geldability according to the Carucate and the Bovate, not according to the hide and the virgate. The hide is never mentioned ; but the Carucate of Lincolnshire was the same index of geldable capacity as was the Hide of Dorset.

Lincolnshire, at the date of Domesday, was divided, as now, into three great provinces, viz., Lindsey (subdivided into 3 Ridings, or, more minutely, into 19 Wapentacs), Ketsteven (subdivided into 11 Wapentacs), and Hoyland (subdivided into 3 Wapentacs). Two of these Provinces, Lindsey and Hoyland, will seem from what follows to have been at the date of Domesday in an abnormal and unreclaimed condition. Ketsteven, however, may be computed from Domesday to have contained $1892\frac{2}{3}$ Carucates, which, being compared with modern acreage, gives about 244 acres to the Carucate. The number of acres representing the Lindsey Carucate is more than 500 ; the number representing the Carucate of Hoyland is more than 1000. Thus we get an indication from Domesday of the comparative wealth and prosperity of the three provinces of Lincolnshire, and we note that the most depreciated districts were those of the seaboard.

To the curious phenomenon that the Carucate of Ketsteven and the Hide of Dorset should be represented by a modern acreage so nearly co-equal, viz., by 241 and by 244 acres respectively, we may now add what we formerly concluded from widely different

data, viz., that the Domesday hide of Shropshire "probably equalled something more than 240 statute acres."¹

We now pass to consider those other facilities besides, pre-existent and accurate Records, which the Domesday Commissioners had or may have had in the furtherance of their work. It is probable generally, as it is proved incidentally, that, whatever county they were visiting the Curia Comitatus, the archetype of the Grand Jury of modern times, sat in permanence as their assessors—ready to give, and, as we know, sometimes giving, its verdict on points of doubt or high import. Whatever Hundred or Wapentac happened to be under survey, the Jury of that Hundred or Wapentac was also in sessional aid of the Commissioners. Further the Owner of, or the Bailiff of, or the Tenant of, or some person or persons representing, each separate Manor of the said Hundred or Wapentac was, or was expected to be, in attendance, ready to give evidence as to the internal condition of such Manor at the time being.

These facts are inferred from the text of the Record itself; they are its internal evidence; they are merely illustrated and confirmed by what is elsewhere said of the Commissioners' proceedings, viz., that they "examined whom they chose: such as Sheriffs, Barons, Reeves of Hundreds, Priests, Bailiffs, and even Villeins."

Something shall now be said about the Domesday Committees; how many Corps of Commissioners were appointed; what amount of work was allotted to them severally; from what class of persons were the Commissioners selected. On the first two points internal evidence is our only guide; on the third point, the only scrap of evidence which we have is external, but it is certainly exact and highly suggestive.

Sober critics have instructed us in later times that the Iliad usually attributed to a certain Homer was the work of a plurality of minds. This has been assumed or ascertained by a comparative examination of different

¹ Antiquities of Shropshire, xii. 183.

portions of the extant text, and without much reference to those less sober principles of criticism which commend themselves to the heart rather than to the brain. We confess that our sometime study of the *Iliad* did not attain to the conclusiveness of the newer theory and tests. But such tests are all-sufficient for the examination of a non-poetic, matter-of-fact, work like Domesday.

After much study we venture to conclude, from the phraseology, the method, and other characteristics of the several Chapters which compose the Exchequer Domesday, that the whole work was accomplished by nine Corps of Commissioners. The printed Edition has an Index following the sequence of the Counties as originally arranged in the Manuscript Codex. This arrangement, except in two instances, seems to have placed the work of the respective corps in true juxtaposition. The exceptions seem to be where two Counties have been withdrawn from their respective circuits, and arranged rather with a view to geographical consecutiveness. In short, the Index places Oxfordshire between Buckinghamshire and Gloucestershire, and places Huntingdonshire between Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire; just as a Map might suggest in both cases. Yet, from internal evidence, we may be sure that Oxfordshire was not surveyed by the same Committee as that which visited Buckinghamshire, nor yet as that which visited Gloucestershire. We may be equally sure that the Surveyors of Huntingdonshire were not the Surveyors of Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire. Oxfordshire we believe to have been surveyed by the same Corps as surveyed Northamptonshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire. Huntingdonshire we believe to have been surveyed by the same Commissioners as those whose great department was Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and the North. On the whole, we believe the following to have been the Domesday Circuits of so many Corps of Commissioners;—

Circuit I.—Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire (including the Isle of Wight), Berkshire.

- Circuit II.—Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall.
- Circuit III.—Middlesex, Hertfordshire. Buckinghamshire.
- Circuit IV.—Gloucestershire (including part of Monmouthshire), Worcestershire, Herefordshire (including part of Wales).
- Circuit V.—Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire.
- Circuit VI.—Northamptonshire (including one-third of Rutland), Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire.
- Circuit VII.—Staffordshire, Shropshire (including part of Wales), Cheshire (including part of Wales), South Lancashire.
- Circuit VIII.—Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire (supplemented by two-thirds of Rutland), Yorkshire (including Amunderness or Mid-Lancashire, also North Lancashire, Furness and part of Westmoreland) Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire.
- Circuit IX.—Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk.

Of the nine Corps of Commissioners thus distinctively employed, if we accept the only known case as an Index of the eight unknown, we must conclude that each corps consisted of four persons. The four who visited Worcestershire and supposedly Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, were Remigius de Fécamp, Bishop of Lincoln, Walter Giffard, Henry de Ferrars, and Adam Fitz Hubert (a Kentish Baron).

It is remarkable that of these four Magnates, plentifully beneficed elsewhere, only one had any estates within the Circuit indicated. This one was Henry de Ferrars. His interest was not a prominent one; but the returns as to his three estates are particularly lucid and plausible. We infer that it was not the policy of the Conqueror to appoint Commissioners to Circuits where they were personally influential or largely interested.

Of the individuals composing the other groups of Domesday Commissioners we know not even the names.

Certain analogies suggest that each group was headed by a Bishop. It is little better than a guess that Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, presided over the Committee which visited Shropshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire. It is still more of a guess that Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, previously Chancellor of England, presided over the Committee which visited Lincolnshire and its associated counties.¹

And now we turn to a little-explored but not less interesting branch of our subject, viz., the mechanical process which wrought the Great Survey and the different stages of its accomplishment.

Each corps of Commissioners was attended by its Clerks. Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, had with him when in Eyre at Worcester, a Clerk and two Monks. Though these attendants are ascribed, in the document from which we quote, to the Bishop individually, they probably worked in common with other Clerks for the Committee of which he was chief. The Clerks of the Survey inscribed their memoranda, whether of written or oral testimony, under the direction of the Commissioners. They worked by the Hundred or in some counties by the Wapentac specially under survey, not by the Fief or Barony as the extant Codex might lead us to suppose. In some instances the Commissioners were cajoled or deceived, so that particular estates escaped survey altogether. Thus in the survey of Hoyland (Lincolnshire), Ingulfus, Abbot of Croyland, concealed from the Commissioners all knowledge of the precinct and demesne of that Abbey. He afterwards told posterity that such feats were practicable, that the Commissioners were to be 'treated with.' He seems to have repented eventually, not of his dishonesty, but probably of some inconvenience which he feared it might

¹ It has further been ascertained, from Domesday itself, that the Commissioner who led Circuit II (that which included Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire), was William, Bishop of Durham.

Proof of this will be furnished in the forthcoming treatise on the Somerset Domesday.

entail in respect of title. So Ingulfus made a purposed visit to the Exchequer, ostensibly that he might transcribe from the finished Domesday all that related to the estates of his Abbey. He hints that his transcript embodied a few alterations and additions. He left his transcript to posterity, so that we can judge from the document what these additions and alterations were. We find that this Impostor forged a complete survey of the home estate of Croyland Abbey, with which he headed an otherwise unobjectionable précis of what he found in Domesday. He did not, for probably he could not, insert his forgery in the Exchequer Domesday, or tamper with the genuine text. This digression shows what indeed is patent from other testimony, that Domesday was at a very early period open to the inspection and transcription of influential parties.

But it happens that there are more than 30 Lincolnshire estates besides Croyland which are unrepresented in the existing Codex of Domesday. We have examined the Dorset Domesday, and do not suspect more than two such omissions. The Shropshire Survey is still more unimpeachable.

The reasons of the Lincolnshire omissions were probably various, and whereas some of them had to do with what we have termed the *Mechanism* of the Survey, we should here notice them.

We may reckon perhaps twenty and more of these Lincolnshire estates which altogether escaped the notice of the Commissioners, or in other words were not surveyed at all. This may have been by reason of the insignificance of some estates, or by reason of forgetfulness or inaccuracy, or confusion, or doubt on the part of local jurors and witnesses, or of the Clerks who indited their statements; or it may have been that the older documents used at the Survey were in some respects imperfect. Other estates than the twenty and more, above alluded to, may have escaped the Commissioners' cognizance, by reason of local and powerful influences. In this class we should be disposed

to reckon the Croyland omission already spoken of, the suppressed estates of Ansgot de Burwell, a favoured Saxon, whose property is found greater and more intact after Domesday than in Domesday, also certain estates of Ivo Tailleboesc, the existing Sheriff and Minister, who lorded it in Lincolnshire. Again there are omissions or mis-statements as to lands of Roger the Poitevin, the fact being that he was under escheat at the date of Domesday; and as to lands in Welle Wapentac where Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, then absent on another circuit, was ordinarily supreme. In this last case, the omission was of a quarter of the whole territory of the Wapentac.

But there is a further case of omission in the extant Domesday of Lincolnshire more remarkable than any of the foregoing, in that it reveals more as to the mechanism of the Survey.—Three Royal Manors are absent from the Codex. One of them certainly, and probably all, were duly surveyed, for the Survey of that one, viz., Washingborough, is expressly referred to under another Manor, as containing evidence which is therefore not given under the second Manor. Here we may suspect that a leaflet or rotulet of the Commissioners' work was lost before it reached the Exchequer, or that it was destroyed when there. Some tenements in Hill Wapentac are also absent from the Codex, but their number and extent seem so uncertain as hardly to supply an indication of another lost leaflet of the Commissioners' work.

The Legati Regis, in their respective circuits, appear to have had other duties than the mere Registration of every class of estate, with the tenure, adjuncts, contents, and value thereof, past and present. The Legati held and in most cases determined Placita, that is, settled many coeval questions of title,¹ registered doubts and

¹ This was written, either under a misconstruction of particular passages in Domesday, or else after an insufficient examination of the Record as a whole. My present conviction is that the Legati never tried questions of title, unless specially directed by the Crown to do

evidence where they did not decide, and in one or two seeming instances left the decision to the King. These Placita-Rolls are generally lost, but wherever lost we may presume that their more important contents have been incorporated in the Domesday Register;—in the Register of the particular county and estate where they were held, and which they concerned. In case of three Counties only, those Counties being all in the same Circuit, have these Placita Rolls been preserved, distinctively preserved, independently of the ordinary Register. They are entitled “Clamores,” the Clamores of Lincolnshire, of Yorkshire, of Huntingdonshire. They are documents of peculiar interest, giving us scraps of history, glimpses of social matters, and fragments of Anglo-Norman custom and law, for which we may look in vain in the more statistical Register.

In case of the three Eastern Counties there are appendices attached to the Territorial Survey of each. These appendices, as containing notices of all sorts of fictitious title, of trespasses, and malversation of office among the Normans themselves, are called *Invasiones*. They have no indication of having been *Placita*, that is of having been *tried* by the Domesday Commissioners. They are rather memoranda of grievances, complaints and representations which reached the Commissioners' ears. So far as they are analogous to, so far they are non-identical with, the *Clamores* of other Counties. They are less allusive than the *Clamores* to matters of collateral interest; and as to throwing light on territorial boundaries and divisions, they are most deficient on points where the *Clamores* are most instructive.

In our account, or presumed account, of the mechanical formation of Domesday we have already reached the point where the loose leaflets or rotulets inscribed in

so. Their function, in cases of doubtful title, was to state all sides of a question, not to decide.

On this ground the title of *Liber Judicialis*, sometimes applied to Domesday, seems inappropriate (see Domesday Studies, Somerset, p. 7).

the provinces were sent up to be digested and transcribed in the Scriptorium of the Exchequer. Parenthetically we should observe here that not a single fragment of these original drafts is known to be in existence. They were probably extant in the reign of Henry II. (1154-1189) for then a copy of some of them relating to Cambridgeshire is supposed, from the handwriting, to have been taken. This copy has been printed under the Title of *Liber Eliensis*. We have not ourselves consulted the Manuscript, and we must be content to say that in form, substance, and sequence, the several entries were an intended and probably close reproduction of the notes originally taken by the Domesday Commissioners.

Now we pass, or imagine ourselves to pass, to the early months of the year 1086, and to the Scriptorium of the Royal Exchequer. Some of the whilom Commissioners are perhaps present to direct the progress of a work only half as yet completed. There is a staff of Clerks of different grades, most of them holding permanent office in the Exchequer, few of them the same Clerks as those who had worked in the Provinces. The Clerks, for instance, who had operated in the Eastern Counties are nearly all missing. Their work was of an inferior type, and they had adopted in their MSS. an unwonted and defective system of verbal contraction. Their successors, the transcribing Clerks of the Exchequer, instead of improving this department of the provincial work, have misunderstood and misrepresented it generally.

Imperial orders have gone forth that the coming Codex, the Domesday that is to outlive centuries, is to be completed before Easter (April 5 in that year), when King William himself expects to receive it in his Court and Palace of Winchester. The Codex is not to be a mere copy of the Country notes. Their arrangement is to be altered entirely ; the details of Manorial live-stock are to be omitted in all cases except that of the three Eastern Counties : many surnames of sub-tenants, given

in full on the country notes, may be omitted in the Transcript: the Counties are to be surveyed in the Codex, not according to their divisions of Hundreds, or of Wapentacs, or of Ridings, but according to Tenure, according to their divisions into Fiefs and Baronies. The task hereby thrown on the Exchequer Clerks thus becomes a task not of mere manual labour and imitative accuracy, but a task requiring intellect;—intellect, clear, well-balanced, apprehensive, comprehensive, and trained withal.

The result, as to arrangement, is in certain instances just what might have been expected from some haste of process. It is assigned, we will instance, to a Clerk employed with the Lincolnshire survey, to collect and transcribe from the several Rolls of Wapentacs or Ridings the manorial constituents of Earl Alan's Fief. He exhausts, as he thinks, one or two Rotulets, and then turns to those of another Riding or Wapentac to search for more of Earl Alan's Manors. Ere he has transcribed these he finds that there are other entries on the Rotulets first examined, and perhaps other Rotulets bearing on the particular Riding with which he had started, and all relevant to Earl Alan's estate. To these, having previously missed them, he is now obliged to revert. Of such reversions or retrogressions, so subversive of topographical sequence, there are at least eight instances in the codification of this one Lincolnshire Fief. The same or a similar result attended the codification of all the principal Fiefs of the same county. The County Rotulets had not been kept together in due sequence, or else the hurried Clerks were perpetually overlooking entries which they ought to have seen. Another mark of confusion, or hurry in the Lincolnshire Domesday is that it is very partially rubricated with the appropriate Ridings and Wapentacs. To atone for this the Transcript Clerks have everywhere left spaces, evidently for the postscriptive insertion of such Rubrics;—spaces which have never been filled.

In respect of sequence, and though it does not give, nor was ever intended to give, Rubrics of Hundreds, the Dorsetshire Domesday is more true to the original topographical survey than the Lincolnshire. The Shropshire Domesday is faithfully and fully rubricated. By this means the clerical irregularities of transcription stand self-corrected on the Record, and we have been able to trace, without extra toil and doubt, nearly every Shropshire locality to its modern representative. Imperfectly as some Transcript Clerks did their work of re-arrangement, we cannot but commend the self-evident accuracy of their text, the ingenious devices, and the intelligent though quaint symbols, by which they restored a degree of order to previous dislocations.

Another evidence of the confusion and doubt pervading the Lincolnshire department of transcript arose in the then abnormal status of the territory of Rutland, a status which, however intelligible to Clerks on circuit, could not be appreciated by Transcribers at the Exchequer.—Two-thirds of Rutland were reputed to be in the county or at least in the Shrievalty of Nottingham. These constituents of Rutland were inserted with all due propriety by the transcribing Clerks as part of Nottinghamshire. But the Clerks, who were at work on the Lincolnshire notes of the same Circuit, got hold of some of these Nottinghamshire leaflets and unwittingly entered a number of Rutland Manors redundantly, and not only that, but so as to tend to the erroneous supposition that part of Rutland was in the Shrievalty of Lincolnshire. Such repetitions, but affecting single Manors only, are observable elsewhere in Domesday. The transcribing Clerks seem not to have checked the original notes with any mark or sign that such and such a note had been copied.

Against such errors and redundancies a very simple but effective precaution seems to have been adopted by some Clerk or Clerks employed on the Yorkshire notes. Before transcription was commenced an Index was made

of the loose notes of that County. This Index gave the contents of each Wapentac or Liberty in abstract under the appropriate title; then the measure in carucates and bovates of each item of estate; and lastly (interlined) some hint or indication to whose Honour or Fief each item belonged. This most clerkly device will have saved the subsequent Transcribers much trouble of roll-searching and a world of confusion in their actual work. Taking account of any particular Fief, the Transcriber had merely to run his eye over the Index of a particular Wapentac or Hundred, where he would see at a glance how many items he had to find or to look for in the collective and several Rotulets of county notes.

This work of intelligent Clerkship, or most part of it, still survives. It is placed next the Lincolnshire "Clamores" in the printed folio of Domesday.

Another speciality of the Yorkshire Domesday is the postscriptive Schedule of De Bruce's Barony copied probably from a Royal Writ or Charter rather than from Commissioners' notes. "*Hic est feodum Rodberti de Bruis quod fuit datum postquam Liber de Wintonia scriptus fuit.*" The Schedule, thus headed, reached Winchester and was engrossed on two blank pages of the Record, after the Clerks had digested, arranged, and codified the results of the survey. A great part, and perhaps the whole of the estates therein named, had appeared in the previous survey under other conditions of tenure. De Bruce, when the Commissioners were in Eyre, had as yet acquired nothing in Yorkshire. The admission of this postscript, as actual part of the Domesday Record, indicates that De Bruce's feoffment followed close on the Survey. So far as we can see, no other postscript has since been admitted.

One more document, strictly connected with the history and formation of Domesday, remains to be noticed. It seems that other editions, beside that preserved at the Royal Exchequer, were coevally made of at least portions of the Commissioners' Note-Rolls.

One such collection of extracts exists. It is called the **Exon Domesday**. It is printed and bound up with the *Inquisicio Gheldi* in one of the folios of the late Record Commission.

It is possible that this work was at one time more comprehensive than it now remains, and embodied a complete Domesday of the five South-Western Counties. If so it was with parallel probability made originally for the uses of that district, and was deposited in the Chapter House of Exeter for the convenience of Inspectors. Similarly the idea arises that other Sections of Domesday may have been likewise copied and deposited in other quarters of the kingdom for provincial uses.

But if the Exon Domesday was never more complete than it now is, it will have been drawn up for some person or persons, some Body Corporate, some fiscal or judicial Officers of the Crown; in short for purposes among which, if we are to judge by the arbitrary selection of Fiefs embodied in the Record, none can be more plausibly advocated than another. Argue, for instance, from the place of deposit, that this Record was made for the use of the hierarchy of Exeter Diocese, and we are at a loss to conceive why it should have embraced the Lay-fief of a Dorset or of a Somerset Baron. The better conclusion is, then, that the Exon Domesday is but a fortuitously preserved fragment of a once more voluminous whole.

Textually the Exon Domesday appears to have been a copy, not a paraphrase or abridgment, of particular clauses of the original notes, taken by the South-Western Commissioners. But in arrangement according to Fiefs, rather than according to topography, it follows the principle of the Exchequer Domesday. So, then, the idea that it was compiled from the said notes, before they had been sent to the Exchequer for re-arrangement and digestion, will not hold.¹ Every way, and so far as it

¹ I have found reason to withdraw from this conclusion. The Exon Domesday was compiled independently of the Exchequer version, and *vice versâ*. But it is quite possible that the Exon compilation was effected first (see *Domesday Studies*, Somerset, pp. 4-5).

goes, it is a most interesting document, giving us, like the *Liber Eliensis*, a further view of what the scope and character of those original notes were, and, like the *Inquisicio Gheldi*, retaining much of personal nomenclature which in the Exchequer Domesday was suppressed as immaterial. One illustration of this last remark must suffice, though more might be added. In the Robertus and the Drogo and the Hugo of the Exchequer Domesday holding under the Earl of Mortagne or under William of Ewe, we should scarce be able, without the *Inquisicio Gheldi* and the Exon Domesday, to detect the undoubted progenitors of three Baronial Houses,—to wit Beauchamp of Hach, and Montacute, and Maltravers. The great Garter-King did not in his day apprehend any of these identities, and, so far as we are aware, the Historians of Somerset and Dorset only glanced at one of the three as problematical.

And indeed it may summarily be said of a closer and better instructed study of Domesday and its cognates, that its results will often afford a link and often a pedestal for some grand genealogy, will solve many a doubt, and correct many a misapprehension about the national history of the period, will convict of prejudice, falsehood, and slander the Monastic Annalists hitherto most in repute, and will enable the student to slough the credulity with which he has adopted the views of those Philo-Saxon writers, who, relying on such informants, have attempted to portray, clothe, and illustrate historical features which they have only succeeded in distorting.

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